

MANUAL OF PARTY TRAINING

Communist Party of Great Britain

STORAGE-ITEM
MAIN LIBRARY

LP9-R27C
U.B.C. LIBRARY

JN 1129
C62
A34
1924

THE LIBRARY



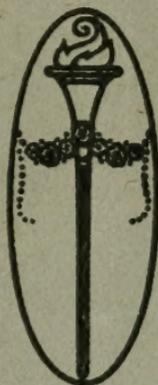
THE UNIVERSITY OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Gift of

H. R. MacMillan

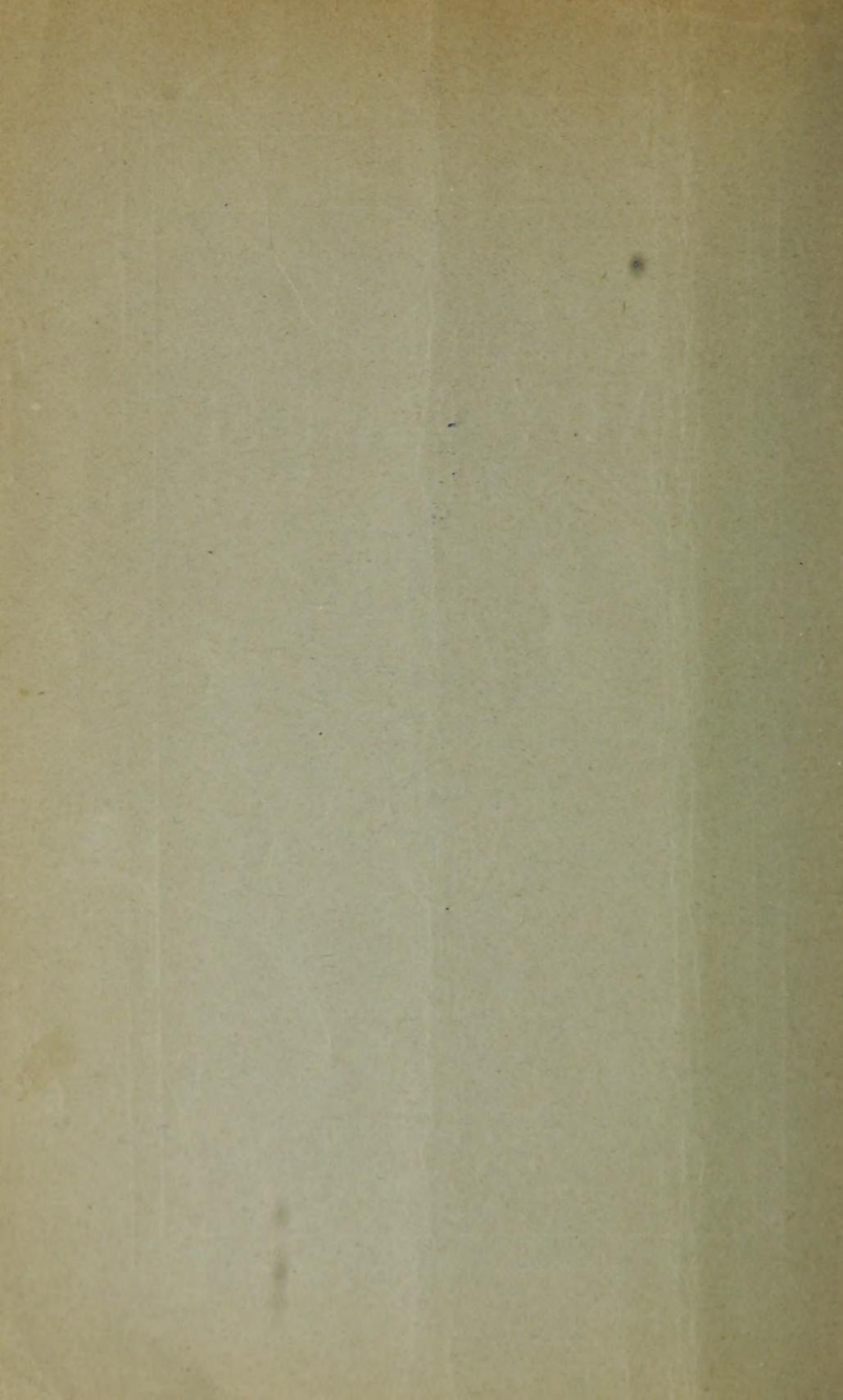
The Communist Party of Great Britain

**Manual of
PARTY TRAINING
Principles and Organisation**



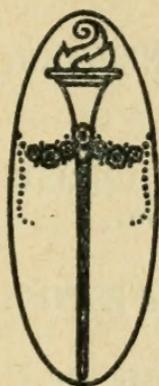
PRICE SIXPENCE

LONDON 1924 : PUBLISHED BY THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C. 2



The Communist Party of Great Britain

Manual of
PARTY TRAINING
Principles and Organisation



PRICE SIXPENCE

LONDON 1924 : PUBLISHED BY THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C. 2

BOOKS TO READ!



A.B.C. OF COMMUNISM.

By Bucharin.

SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

By A. Bogdanov.

Each of the above

3/- paper. 3/3 post free.
5/- Cloth. 5/4 post free.

THE STATE AND REVOLUTION.

By N. Lenin.

Price 1/-. Post free 1/1

LEFT-WING COMMUNISM.

By N. Lenin.

Price 2/-. Post free 2/1.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

By Miliutin.

Price 1/-. Post free 1/1.

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM.

By Bishop Brown.

Price 1/-. Post free 1/1½.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

Price 3d. Post free 3½d

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF C.P.G.B.

Price 6d. Post free 7½d.

PROCESS OF CAPITALIST DECLINE.

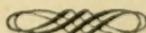
By E. Varga.

Price 1/- Post free 1/2.

DECLINE OF CAPITALISM.

By E. Varga.

Price 6d. Post free 7½d.



All the above, and all your other book requirements, are obtainable from the Communist Bookshop, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.

C · O · N · T · E · N · T · S

Preface	- - - - -	5
Lesson I.—What Party Training Means	- - - - -	9
Lesson II.—Capitalist Exploitation	- - - - -	13
Lesson III.—The Breakdown of Capitalism	- - - - -	17
Lesson IV.—The State	- - - - -	21
Lesson V.—Parliament and Local Government	- - - - -	25
Lesson VI.—The Development of the Working Class Movement	- - - - -	29
Lesson VII.—The Development of the Working Class Movement (Cont.)	- - - - -	32
Lesson VIII.—The Transition Period and Com- munist Production	- - - - -	36
Lesson IX.—The International	- - - - -	39
Principles of Organisation :		
Lesson I.	- - - - -	44
Lesson II.	- - - - -	47
Lesson III.	- - - - -	49
Bibliography	- - - - -	51

FOR SUPPLEMENTARY STUDY

with this syllabus

GET THOSE

FIVE CHARTS

GIVING A

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

of Inventions, Important Events
at Home and Abroad, Trade
Conditions, Prices, Wages, from

1 7 9 9

to

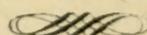
1 9 2 3

*Indispensable Reference
Sheets for Tutors and
Students*



PRICE SIXPENCE

Postage Extra



Order from the Communist Bookshop
16 King St., Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

P R E F A C E



One of the fundamental breaks which the Young Communist Party of this country has definitely made with the methods of the old Socialist parties is the identification of party agitational and propagandist activity with its fundamental work. Side by side with, and as part of its general trade union or industrial work, and the daily political struggle, the Communist Party carries on the equally important task of theoretical grounding.

In the past the methods of the old Socialist groups consisted in the main of regular weekly meetings, where addresses were delivered in which Marxism was expounded (more or less efficiently) and an endeavour made to appraise current events from the proletarian standpoint. Thus, nearly every district to-day has its open-air meeting place for its summer propaganda. In winter these meetings were replaced by indoor gatherings at which speeches of a similar type were delivered.

The limitations of this method of propaganda led in the past to a series of sporadic efforts resting on the initiative of active individuals and branches to improve the quality of the Marxism expounded. These took the form of study classes in economics, industrial and political history, and logic. Theory was over-emphasised at the expense of practice, which in turn,

led to the development of educational organisations in Marxism outside the control of the parties. Indeed, the hall mark of what is called the movement for Independent Working Class Education is its insistence upon its non-party character. For the Communists unless theoretical Marxism is crystallised into a revolutionary political Party it becomes arid and barren. And this is what has happened to much of the educational work of the past.

It is exactly this insistence upon the complete identification of theoretical grounding with the agitational and propagandist activity of a party that frees the international Communist Party from the pedanticism of the Socialist parties and groups of the Second International. This detachedness of theoretical training from the active life of a political party has been responsible for quite a number of errors and fallacies in the working class movement of this country, the more dangerous in that they are sponsored by so-called Marxists. Chief amongst these errors is to represent the victory of the proletariat in an automatic and mechanical way. As Comrade Trotsky once put it when discussing the question of the bourgeoisie as a passive or living force, imagine the bourgeois saying to himself: "The scientific theory of evolution has recognised that I am reactionary; I, therefore, quit the scene." Clearly the bourgeoisie will never do anything of the kind. The revolution is not a thing of the lecture room; it signifies a real struggle of living classes. The more dangerous becomes the peril for capitalism, all the more active becomes the bourgeoisie as a whole in rallying every vital force for self-preservation.

On the other hand, equally illusory is it to think

that the power of the working class develops simultaneously and parallel with that of the capitalist class. Capitalism may reach the stage when it is unable to further develop the productive forces of society, but it does not follow that the solution of such a crisis will be ready to hand. *Only when the working class is able to overcome the strategy of the bourgeoisie with its own proletarian strategy will the problem be solved.* It is not sufficient to recognise that the capitalist class is doomed, and that before it is suppressed the victory of the working class is assured. The bourgeoisie still remains powerful, and we have to recognise that it is still necessary to vanquish and destroy it. This implies, besides an active revolutionary proletarian advance guard, willing and able to struggle, a sound theoretical equipment. In other words, Marxism and Leninism must be hammered into the consciousness of the Communist Parties and the Party members. Only by the theoretical understanding of the practical political and organisational problems before it can the Communist Party become the real leader of the masses.

It may be pointed out here that this syllabus on Party Training does not pretend to cover the whole field of Communist education. To do that would make the syllabus more theoretic in its contents than it is. On the other hand newcomers into our Party, particularly artisan workers who have had no previous political association will probably think it too theoretic. What the Central Training Committee aimed at was the production of a syllabus sufficiently theoretically accurate, yet elementary enough to be a sound guide for an understanding of Communist Party practice such as could be understood by the increasing number of our tutors most of whom are distinctly proletarian.

Again, the formal separation of the lessons on Organisation from those of the Programme must not be taken to imply a duality of machinery and theory. As we have already pointed out in this introduction the organisation of practical work is inseparable from the theoretical understanding, and *vice versa*. Special use should be made by tutors when dealing with the details of organisation, of the Handbooks on Organisation compiled from the international resolutions issued by the Party from time to time. But the tutors must always keep relating the forms of organisation to the theoretical task to be overcome.

Party Training is an innovation in this country for the working class movement. It would be folly to assume within the limits of the experience we have had, that we have completely mastered all there is to be known in this important field of Party activity. It is sufficient to remember we are only in the experimental stage. Party Training aims at making Communist members fit to take up active Party work, to carry on our propaganda amongst the masses, and to win for our Party the leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle against all the forces of capitalism. Out of the struggle will come experience; from experience we will learn the way to victory.

In conclusion, the attention of tutors is directed to the elaborate charts which accompany this syllabus in separate form for the sake of convenience in handling, giving a useful synopsis of historical events associated with the periods covered by the particular lessons.

T.B.

LESSON 1.

WHAT PARTY TRAINING MEANS.*

Why do we need Party Training?

In order that every recruit should become a good Party member.

What is a good Party Member?

One who is able to think and act as a Communist on every occasion.

What should be the basis of a Party Training Course?

The Party Programme.

Why should this be so?

Because the understanding of the Party Programme is the basis for membership.

What was common to the programme of the older Socialist Parties? (e.g., Erfurt Programme, 1891. German S.D.P., I.L.P.)

Immediate demands. "Minimum Programme."

Should the C.P. formulate immediate demands?

The immediate demands of the C.P., unlike those of the Reformist Parties, are merely a means to our end and not an end in themselves.

Why does the C.P. need a Programme?

To explain what the Party is and to become the basis of propaganda. (Note scientific nature of C.P. Programme).

What is meant by Scientific Programme?

Define meaning of word "science"; take various branches of science, e.g., geology—laws governing the development of the earth. Biology: laws governing the development of life, including mankind. So we must have scientific study of development of society to discover its laws. Our programme should be based on the laws of the development of society.

* This is not to be taken as a rigid and complete catechism, but as a basis for a series of questions leading up to an explanation or explanations by the tutor.

What should a Party Programme Contain?

To be scientific it should contain :—

- (a) Analysis of past and present conditions.
This would give a basis for,
- (b) Statement of aims *i.e.*, what it hopes to accomplish in the future. This statement again determines,
- (c) Policy and tactics necessary for such an accomplishment.

What a Party Programme is.

It is all those aims which a Party, representing the interests of a class, strives to realise.

What is a Class?

A class is a section of the community the members of which have the same economic conditions and consequently the same political interests.

Does the whole of the Working Class understand its own Political interests?

No, only those organised politically to protect their interests as a class, thus forming a definite Party inside the working class.

What is a Party?

A Party is composed in the main of the most intelligent elements of a class which is conscious of its class interests; although from time to time various groups of political theorists take on the name of "Party." In times of crisis, however, these groups tend to disappear.

Who are the Masses?

They are the politically inactive (unclass-conscious) majority of the working class.

What are the Bourgeois Parties?

Conservatives and Liberals.

Why are there different Bourgeois Parties?

Because they represent different sectional interests.

What are these different interests?

- (a) *Conservatives.* These, generally speaking, connected with land, army, navy, diplomatic and imperial services (really surviving feudal interests in many cases), represent mere passive capital, e.g., bondholders and the financial interests of the City of London.
- (b) *Liberals.* Manufacturing interests of cotton and old industrial capital, supported by petit-bourgeois; also representing active new industrial capital such as shipping and merchant groups.

These are lines of cleavage and development.

They all represent the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole.

What happens when any attempt is made to attack the Structure of Society?

All these apparently conflicting parties are ready to unite against the common enemy, e.g., their coalitions in time of war, their common attacks on the working class in times of industrial crisis. (Note their repudiation of constitutionalism in times of crisis as evinced by the growth of Fascism).

Who are the Petit-Bourgeoisie?

The small men, small shopkeepers, little business men, small farmers, managers of offices, factories, etc., lower-paid professional workers. Nevertheless there is a fairly fixed petit-bourgeois outlook which is the characteristic of the T.U. bureaucracy of the working class aristocracy of labour.

Take the other Parties. What do they represent?

(a) Labour Party—How is it Constituted?

Trade Unions affiliated, Fabian Society, I.L.P. and local Labour Parties, including individual members.

Why do the Trade Unions not represent the interests of the Working Class?

Because they only represent sectional economic interests, not the workers as a class. (Note their attacks on each other at T.U. Congress.)

In practice the interests they serve are those of the T.U. bureaucracy which we have seen is the petit-bourgeois. Not a real political party, because no class basis.

(b) Fabian Society.

Middle class body with petit-bourgeois outlook. Has imposed its ideas on Labour Leaders.

Why has the Labour Party been opened to petit-bourgeois Influences?

Because it is not a real political party as we have seen above, with a definite class basis, but chiefly a combination of economic organisations. It is led by the T.U. bureaucracy who are under the influence of the Fabian Society and the I.L.P.

(c) The I.L.P.

It is now a bourgeois pacifist body, with proletarian elements dominated by petit-bourgeois political and religious outlook, *e.g.*, war on capitalism campaign, attitude of MacDonald and Snowden, their speeches.

What is the Labour Party line of development?

Towards representing the true petit-bourgeois outlook. Anti-C.P., pro-imperialist.

Which is the true Proletarian Party?

The C.P. is the Party of the working class and of nothing else. (Note : Come back to the first definition of class and political interests.)

What then are Politics?

Politics are the means and methods of advancing class interests. Politics are the struggle of classes. Politics are the struggle of competing economic groups for control of State power.

LESSON 2.

CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.

INTRODUCTION.

This lesson generalises the process of capitalist exploitation, how profits and wages are related to each other, and the principal features of the capitalist method of production. It is well to remember, however, that behind all the economic relations in society there is the vivid history of the struggle of the classes, and that behind the dead facts of the part machinery plays in industry lies the tragic story of human conflict.

No finer piece of descriptive writing is to be found in the literature of economic science than those brilliant chapters of Marx's capital dealing with "The Secret of Primitive Accumulation," and the rise of machine industry. Those who speak of Marx's "Capital" as "dull" and "heavy" or who lack a sense of revolt against the so-called rights of property, are recommended to supplement this lesson with a perusal of Chapters 26, 27 and 28 of "Capital."

LESSON.

1. *What is capitalism?*

In order to produce goods under modern conditions there are needed,

- (a) Human labour applied to land and raw materials by means of,
- (b) Machinery, factories, railways, ships, etc.

A small capitalist class owns the machinery, factories, etc., and only allows the working class to operate them in the interest of the owners. The method adopted is to force the working class through fear of starvation to sell its labour power to the capitalist class. Thus labour power itself becomes a commodity. (A commodity being anything that is produced for the market).

When a capitalist buys the labour power of the worker, he sets the latter to work in his (the capitalist's)

factory, shop, etc. Values are thus created. The price paid to the worker for his labour-power is called "Wages." Wages are limited to the amount that is necessary to keep the wage-earner an efficient slave. After paying wages and overhead charges, the capitalist finds himself still in possession of a large part of the values created by the workers; he calls this "*profit*," and the process by which it is obtained is known as *capitalist exploitation*.

If those who supply the human labour, viz., the *proletariat* or *working class* were free to operate the machinery, factories, etc., to supply their needs, exploitation would not exist.

Capitalism may be defined as a system of Society which is distinguished by the following conditions:—

- (a) All the means of production, land, mines, railways, factories, tools, etc., are the monopoly of a relatively small class.
- (b) The mass or majority of the people are propertyless, and their method of living is by selling their labour-power.
- (c) Production is carried on for private gain.
- (d) The wealth so produced takes the form of commodities.

All these conditions must operate simultaneously, any one being absent, the resulting conditions cannot be described as capitalism.

2. Features of Capitalist Production.

Present conditions of wealth production are only of recent origin. Wealth was produced quite differently for example in feudal times and by mediæval guilds.

Effects of the introduction of machinery into industry :

1. Greater production.
2. Intenser competition.
3. Small producers reduced to dependence upon greater capitalists.
4. Skilled labour replaced by unskilled machine-minders, including women and children.
5. Widespread unemployment, and increased exploitation of the workers.

3. *Anarchy of Production.*

Effect of increased production upon the markets of the world is the exhaustion of those already established, and a hunt for new markets. The methods resorted to by the capitalists in their competition for the world market result in periodic slumps, gluts, crises, unemployment. These again lead to intensification of the class struggle between the capitalists and workers, and to the development of working class organisation.

4. *Inefficiency of Production.*

Capitalism fails to effect the best utilisation of the productive forces of society, for six causes:—

1. Production for profit and not for use means that things useful to society as a whole but not profitable to any *one* group of capitalists are not produced.
2. Competition causes over-lapping and waste, *e.g.*, five milkmen going down one street.
3. When combination enters in, output is restricted to keep prices up.
4. Property limitations prevent effective use of natural resources, *e.g.*, purchase of land for railways, and coal left in mines.
5. Barriers at political boundaries (tariffs, prohibitions, railways built for nationalist and militarist purposes, national currencies, and fluctuating rates of exchange) hinder the best division of labour between countries.
6. Class struggle produces strikes, ca' canny and lack of co-operation between administrative workers and workers in the shop.

Questions.

Question 1.

Describe in your own words "Capitalist Production," and divide your written description into the following sections:

- (a) The essential conditions of Capitalist Production.
- (b) The difference between the *feudal period* of production and exploitation; the *manufacturing period* of production and exploitation;

and the *machine-age* of production and exploitation, viz. : the period since the industrial revolution.

- (c) The affect of increased production due to machinery, etc., upon the political history of the world, *e.g.*, imperialism, wars, expansion in Africa, Japan.
- (d) The effect of the Industrial Revolution upon the class struggle, illustrating from the period 1815-1865 the measures adopted by the workers to secure their interests, and the counter-moves of the capitalists to defeat and suppress the working class.

Question 2.

Does capitalist expansion benefit the home workers and also improve the status of the " natives " in foreign countries, *e.g.*, China, India, etc. ?

Question 3.

Has capitalism improved the instruments of production, raised the status of the workers, and is the modern wage-worker better or worse off than the slaves of Rome or the feudal serf ?

Question 4.

Does capitalism use the production forces to the fullest extent ? (Illustrate your reply with examples.)

LESSON 3.

THE BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM.

INTRODUCTION.

A complete and fundamental change in the economic system from Capitalism to Communism is our Party's revolutionary objective.

The method of production which prevailed before capitalism was called "Feudalism." With the development of the productive forces in the Labour process a new order of society with corresponding classes is established upon a definite economic basis.

The economic basis of present day society is called "Capitalism." Capitalism's most glaring contradiction is, on the one hand the highly concentrated and co-operative character of the Labour process in producing wealth, and on the other hand individual or class ownership. The solution to this contradiction is to be found in bringing the methods of distribution into harmony with production and thus enthrone social well-being over individual gain.

Financial control of industry marks the highest development of the concentration of capital. This is a "control" rather than legal ownership: the shareholders own but the financiers control.

Imperialism aims at securing markets and sources of raw materials. The area for imperialist expansion is ever contracting, the growth of capitalism demands an outlet for expansion, expanding capitalist states must try for a re-division of the colonies, *e.g.*, France, America, and Japan must look with growing envy at the British Empire. Wars will result.

LESSON.

1. *The Breakdown of Capitalism.*

The inability of capitalism to organise production with the prime object of satisfying social needs, makes a change in the economic system essential.

2. Capitalist Tendencies.

Anarchy of production described in Lesson 2 can only grow worse as capitalism develops, because,

- (a) Financial power tends to become concentrated into fewer hands, *e.g.*, the rise of the F.B.I. as the representative body of British industry and the growth of the A.E.G. and the Stinnes combination in Germany. "The Big Five," in England (Barclays, Lloyds, Midland, Westminster and National Provincial). Allied to banks, are
The F.B.I.,
The Comité des Forges (France),
The A.E.G. and Stinnes Group in Germany.
- (b) Unregulated production causes continual over-production, especially in constructional trades, and these try to find markets abroad. Markets for constructional goods only provided by investments, hence Imperialism. Competition becomes political, *i.e.*, between States, to secure spheres of investment and raw material for national combines.
- (c) These rivalries lead to wars which further disorganise production.
- (d) The steady industrialisation uses coolie labour to reduce the standard of living of the workers in the more highly developed countries.
- (e) This industrialisation of the backward countries makes it more difficult for the capitalist to find outlet for the surplus products which the reduced home demand fails to absorb.

3. Concentration of Capital.

Free competition gradually disappears; monopoly takes its place. Individual capitalists are replaced by Joint Stock companies, trusts, combines.

Trust. A monopoly or partial monopoly of one branch of production.

Combine. A combination of firms to regulate production and control prices.

Ring. A group of companies which agree not to compete with each other.

Examples. Tobacco Trust, Soap Trust, Packers' Combines (Food products). Building Rings, and their opposition to Public Works Departments.

The concentration of capital only removes competition from the home sphere and transfers it to the international sphere, where it takes on a much more dangerous form, viz., Imperialism.

4. *Imperialism.*

Follows upon the struggles of great capitalist combines for new markets, control of essential materials, and for opportunities of exploiting undeveloped countries, leading to wars.

5. *Result of War of 1914-18.*

- (a) Destruction of means of production, transport, etc.
- (b) Disorganisation of world's trade through changes in prices and rates of exchange.
- (c) Intensified unemployment.
- (d) Disorganisation of State finance.
- (e) Intensification of impediments at national boundaries. (See Lesson 2, par 4, No. 5.).

These things act and react upon each other.

The misery caused by the war led to the first breach of the Imperialist front by the Proletarian Revolution in Russia in November, 1917. There followed an era of working class revolutionary feeling :

- (a) In Finland and Hungary where the workers were openly defeated after a brief victory.
- (b) In Austria and Germany, where the workers were betrayed by Socialists, who believed in the bourgeois democracy and were opposed to the workers' dictatorship.

Questions.

Question 1.

Explain what is meant by the assertion that capitalism must give way to a new system.

Question 2.

(a) How does or can the F.B.I. exert its power to the advantage of the class it represents?

(b) How do the Banks control industry?

Question 3.

What is meant by "Constructional Trades"? (See Section 3 (b) of the syllabus.)

Question 4.

Give examples of the industrialisation of some specific "backward country," and state your own opinion as to whether the statement in the Lesson 3, section (d) is accurate. (Give as many actual facts as possible in support of your view.)

Question 5.

Could Parliament (with a Labour majority in Commons) break up the Trusts, and break up the Rings and Combines by passing a law or by the use of any of its powers?

Lesson 6.

Name the present-day states you consider imperialist states. Are there any which are not imperialist states?

Question 7.

Under what circumstances would it be right for the C.P. to support a war?

Question 8.

What means should the workers have (at least in embryo) ready to carry on production in the case of a breakdown in production such as took place in Russia?

LESSON 4.

THE STATE.

INTRODUCTION.

The State implies the existence of classes within Society and exists as an instrument by means of which one class keeps another class in subjection. As such, it is always the political organ of the dominant class, the means by which it maintains power.

Through its State schools, its State church, it soaks the working class with the ideas which it finds most favourable to itself. Such lessons as "Honour the King," ideas of "Glory and Empire," "Patriotism," "Put up with evil conditions in this world and be rewarded in the next," etc., are embodied in their teachings. Through the Press notions of the necessity and permanence of the capitalist system are further developed. Note the attitude of the Press during a crisis, always against the workers.

By means of force (Army, Navy, Police, Legal Institutions) the capitalist class enforces its domination over the workers, and so, although a relatively small class, they are able effectively to exploit the much larger working class.

In order to do this, in view of the modern development of capitalism and the increasing difficulties which it must face, and because every class system contains within itself the forces which must ultimately destroy it, the State power shows greater centralisation and the dictatorship of the capitalist class becomes more apparent. The working class is faced with the fact that it must destroy this power, or else itself be permanently enslaved.

LESSON.

1. *Origin of State.*

The political organ of the ruling class to maintain power. Has been in existence since society split into classes—keeps the ruled class in subjection.

Note :—

- (a) The feudal states, instruments of feudal barons to exploit serfs.
- (b) Trade and growth of towns, conflict between new trading class and feudal lords. This struggle results in victory for the capitalist class (*i.e.*, traders).
- (c) Victorious capitalists have organised the States for protection of themselves and their possessions—
 - (1) from foreign rivals.
 - (2) from working class at home.

Through the State the small capitalist class rules the large working class by :—

- (1) Propaganda (through education—Church and Schools, press and politicians).
- (2) Physical Force (Legal Institutions, Police, Army, Navy and Air Force).

2. The Modern State.

Increasing centralisation. Cabinet replacing Parliament, and in times of war a War Cabinet replacing the Cabinet.

The Tendency towards Centralisation reflected in growth of departments and the army of officials.

3. Main functions of the Capitalist State.

The State as watchdog of capitalist interests.

The State as sergeant-major—regimentation of the workers.

The State as factory manager—intervention in trade disputes.

The State as protector—against the workers and against other capitalist organisations (foreign States). Army, Navy, Police, Legal machinery (for the protection of private property).

4. Organisation of Production by the State.

Technical Schools. Trade Departments, Consular Services, Tariffs, Customs, Trade Facilities, Loans free of interest.

Regulation of Labour—Labour Exchanges.

Taming of Labour—Boards of conciliation and arbitration. Whitley Councils.

Social Legislation—Factory Acts, Health and Unemployment Insurance, etc.

The State undertakes some branches of production directly in cases where this is of benefit to capitalist production in general, e.g., nationalised industries, such as Post Office, Telegraphs, Railways, Tramways, Mines, Armaments, Export Credits, and Scientific Research.

Organisation of production by the State gives the opportunity for seducing of Labour Leaders, by fitting them into Departments.

5. *Buying of Labour Leaders.*

A direct outcome of Social Legislation, Labour Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, the creation of Labour Exchanges, and the weaning of prominent leaders from their functions of leaders of the working class to that of administrators of sopps and salves to the most blatant excesses of Capitalism, viz., David Shackleton given a high place by Liberals at Home Office. John Burns made President of Local Government Board. William Brace given an important position in Ministry during war.

Then hosts of smaller fry have been drawn into positions as Labour Exchange Managers, and officials in Government Departments.

During the war men whose services were appreciated because they held important positions in the Trade Unions and could best serve the Government, were lured on to joint committees such as the Ministry of Munitions, received their pay as T.U. officials and also drew expenses from the Government when on committees. In addition to the pelf, they were made O.B.E., etc.

6. *Our Task towards the State.*

- (1) To expose its real nature.
- (2) To undermine its authority.
- (3) Ultimately to destroy it.

Questions.

Question 1.

Define the term "State."

Question 2.

Show how the feudal barons were able to exploit the serfs by means of feudal state.

Question 3.

Against whom is the Capitalist State organised?

Question 4.

How does the Capitalist State maintain its power?

Question 5.

What are the tendencies in the modern Capitalist State?

Question 6.

What are its main functions?

Question 7.

How does the State organise Production? Explain why and give the benefits which capitalism thus acquires.

Question 8.

What is the task of the Communist Party towards the State, and give the means which you would suggest to carry out these aims?

LESSON 5.

PARLIAMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this lesson is to show clearly the pitfalls and dangers which beset Communists elected to public office, and to set forth the principles which should guide Communists in all their electioneering work. There are left-wing elements in the Labour movement to whom these pitfalls and dangers are so terrifying that they refuse to have anything to do with public elections. If the Communists fail to lay sufficient emphasis on the fraudulent character of the "democratic" institutions set by the bourgeoisie, they will lay themselves open to attack from these left-wingers, and when parliamentarism fails—as fail it must—to satisfy the needs of the workers, Communism may be involved in the discredit. On the other hand, it is futile to deny that the bourgeoisie have at times been forced, in order keep up the sham, to make real concessions which can be used by the workers in their everyday struggles. Often it happens that the bosses find it very inconvenient to observe the rules which circumstances have compelled them to make for the conduct of public business. Thus, while Communists must never be fooled into believing that capitalist institutions will emancipate the workers, they will protest vigorously wherever the ruling class attempts to break its own rules in the interests of big business. Legislation of the type of "Dora" and the Emergency Powers Act; which openly transfers power from Parliament as a whole to the Government acting through the Privy Council, will always be opposed and used by the Communists for propaganda purposes.

Participation in elections affords unique opportunity for political propaganda of all kinds, the public mind being specially prepared at such times for the consideration of topics of this kind.

Communists recognise the value of public office—and of Parliamentary immunity—as a means of Communist propaganda. Consider how much in demand as a speaker was Newbold during his first Parliamentary

term. Remember also how reluctant are even capitalist governments to proceed to extreme measures against locally elected bodies (*e.g.*, Poplar Guardians). An attack by the central government upon a Communist-controlled Board of Guardians or Borough Council has more propaganda value than any number of individual victimisations.

It is most important for Communists to be on their guard against reformism in municipal politics. The central bureaucracy may be trusted to interpose every obstacle in the way of any practical scheme that might really strengthen the workers in their daily struggle; and as the structure of British local government is such that the bureaucracy at the centre is legally the dominant partner, Communist local administrators must be prepared at any time to enter upon a conflict with the central government, regardless of the legality of their actions.

LESSON.

PARLIAMENT.

1. Parliaments and "democratically" elected local authorities are as much instruments of class domination as the avowed oligarchies of old. Although cleverly camouflaged under the form of "Manhood Suffrage," "Adult Suffrage," or approximations thereto, as institutions they are really useless for serving the real interests of the mass of the workers.

2. *Bourgeois Parliaments and their Role for the Working Class.*

(a) The real seat of power of the dominant class is outside Parliament (*e.g.*, as landlords, merchants, "captains of industry," bankers). Parliament merely registers and gives legal sanction to decisions arrived at elsewhere.

(b) Parliamentary elections and debates are a valuable guide to master class in determining,

1. How far it is safe to go at any given time, and
2. What concessions (real or seeming) it is safe to make for the perpetuation of class power.

(c) Parliament also serves class purposes.

1. In so far as the working class representatives believe in the Parliamentary democracy, they become drugged with the "atmosphere" ("traditions of the House," etc.), or their energies absorbed in mastery of complicated parliamentary technique instead of grappling with real problems.
2. In giving opportunity for leading politicians to drug the public with reactionary schemes designed to sidetrack the working class movement, *e.g.*, (1) Peace, Retrenchment and Reform, (2) National Insurance Schemes, *qd.* for *4d.*, (3) Development schemes for unemployment.
3. As a safety valve during industrial disputes, *e.g.*, Sankey Commission, Miners' Lock-out, threatened Railway strikes.

3. Exhaustion of Parliament.

Old tricks wearing threadbare. Also, big business now so powerful as to feel less need for "keeping up appearances." Hence constitutionalism is flouted not only by revolutionary workers, but by the ruling class itself, *e.g.*, contempt for Parliament during the war, constant flagrant violations of State and federal laws by the great corporations of the United States, Mussolini regime in Italy, militarist coup in Spain, Bulgaria and suppression of Workers' Government in Saxony.

4. Communist use of Parliamentary Elections.

- (a) To expose fraudulent character of "democratic" policies.
- (b) To secure points of vantage from which to harry the ruling classes.
- (c) To formulate immediate demands on which masses can unite for the struggle against capitalist rule.

Local Government.

1. The British Local authorities have some discretionary administrative power but are in the main subject to control by central departments.

2. Communist tactics on local authorities should be directed towards :—

- (1) The use of all discretionary powers in a manner calculated to strengthen the confidence of the workers in the Party, and thus sustain them in their struggle against the boss class, *e.g.*, treatment of "hunger marchers," wages for so-called "relief" work, administration of out-relief, etc.
- (2) The exposure of petty graft and wire-pulling by local business interests.
- (3) Clashes between local and central departments in such ways as will best demonstrate to the workers the class character of the State, *e.g.*, on housing, education, rating, etc.

Questions.

Question 1.

Give instances of Labour men who have lost their usefulness through being drugged by Parliamentary atmosphere. Mention changes which occurred in their outlook.

Question 2.

If elected as a Communist M.P., what would be your relation towards the C. P. Executive Committee? In what ways would you endeavour to expose the fraudulent character of bourgeois democracy and to harass the ruling class?

Question 3.

What do you know about Mussolini's regime, and about Fascism in other countries than Italy?

Question 4.

In formulating immediate demands, is there a difference between "reformist" and "revolutionary" demands? If so, explain this difference by examples which may be drawn either from actual history or from your imagination, as you prefer.

LESSON 6.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

In this lesson we see four outstanding periods in the development of the working class movement from a study of which valuable illustrations may be obtained as to the relative merits of reformist and revolutionary action.

If we follow closely the speeches of our most outstanding reformists we see a striking resemblance to the Utopians of the 18th century, not only in words, but in the content of their thought. The Utopians of the past as at present rose above class distinctions and endeavoured to secure a more equitable *distribution of the product*. Marxism aims at the *conquest of the means of production* through struggle as a preliminary to establishing equality in distribution.

The Communist Manifesto of 1847 is often misconstrued by modern reformists as a justification of the "one step at a time." idea. But there is no justification for this interpretation. The '47 Manifesto of Marx and Engels proclaimed the revolutionary aims of the working class as fundamentally the historic role of the proletariat. The concrete measures contained in the Manifesto were formulated as the basis for a vigorous class struggle.

The principle of the struggle towards the dictatorship of the working class versus the principle of "gradual transformation" is the dividing line between reform and revolution. The lessons from the martyrdom of the Paris Communards were closely studied and learned by the working class in Russia. Hence the close similarity in methods adopted and the successes of the first Workers' Republic.

LESSON.

1. Utopian and Scientific Socialism.

(a) Utopian Socialism aimed at an equal distribution of the product and an ideal society, e.g.,

Phalansteries of Fourier, Labour Colonies of Owen at New Harmony, Indiana.

(b) Utopians stressed importance of environment and individual character as being the basis for the realisation of imaginary "Perfect Society."

(c) In relation to Society as a whole modern social reformists inherit the fallacies of the Utopians.

(d) Scientific Socialism, accepting capitalism as an historic stage in the evolution of society, aims, through struggle, at the elimination of the capitalist and the common ownership of the tools and implements of production.

2. *Beginning of Revolutionary Socialism.*

Formation of Communist League the starting point of Revolutionary Socialism. Its characteristics well brought out in the Communist Manifesto of 1847 :—

- (a) Scientific basis united with determination to support the workers in all their struggles.
- (b) Clear definition of Communist position and ruthless analysis of the positions of the non-revolutionary Socialists (Parts II and III of the Manifesto).
- (c) Enumeration of concrete measures to serve as a rallying point for the workers generally.

3. *The Paris Commune, 1871.*

Marx's attitude towards it. Its lessons as interpreted by himself and subsequent revolutionary leaders, including Lenin :—

- (1) The need for a dictatorship of the working class during the transition period after the revolution.
- (2) The unsuitability of the bourgeois state machinery to serve the workers' purpose.
- (3) The necessity for the creation of a new form of State functioning through Workers' Councils (Soviets).

4. *Russian Revolution and Third International.*

1. Soviet Russia, first proletarian state, and breach in international imperialism.

2. Birth of Communist International : its rise and challenge to world capitalism.

Note.—

- (a) Lessons of Paris Commune remembered ; hence Proletarian Dictatorship.
- (b) Soviets or Workers' Councils instead of geographical constituencies of democracy.
- (c) Inevitability of Transition Period.
- (d) Centralised direction through medium of international revolutionary Party.
- (e) Soviet Russia a manifestation of the success of the revolutionary masses.

Questions.

Question 1.

Explain what you mean by a scientific, as distinct from a Utopian, theory. How does Communism differ in this respect from non-Marxian Socialism?

Question 2.

Criticise the following statements, and show how they are wrong in the light of the experience of the working class movement hitherto :—

- (a) " If only all men would live together as brothers we should have the ideal state of Society. What is necessary, therefore, is to secure in everyone of whatever class a ' change of heart, ' "
- (b) " The Workers have the vote, which they did not have a hundred years ago. Hence, if they will only use it, they can easily transform society through the medium of existing constitutional machinery. "

Question 3.

What are the chief lessons we have to learn from the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, and the Russian Revolution of 1917?

LESSON 7.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT—(Continued).

INTRODUCTION.

This lesson continues the subject matter of No. 6, only from another angle. It emphasises the importance of Labour Unions, work amongst women and amongst the working youth.

With regard to Trade Unionism the important thing to note is that historically the Trade Unions are not to be regarded as mere provident societies. Their proper role is that of mass organisations to defend and advance the class interests of the workers and to prepare for the workers' administration of industry under the proletarian state.

The movement amongst women is a most important part of Communist activity. Though working in a special direction, we do not regard the woman's movement as a feminist movement. Work amongst women is like work amongst the youth or in Trade Unions or any other field of proletarian activity. It is a special field of Communist activity, crystallising itself in the general aims of the Party, and inseparable from the Party.

LESSON.

1. Development and Character of British Trade Unionism.

1. In the class struggle against the capitalists, upon the question of wages, hours, and working conditions, the workers combine into Labour organisations. The Industrial Revolution and the coming of the factory system gave rise to modern Trade Unionism.

2. *Struggle for existence.* Unions made illegal and compelled to work under cover of being provident societies. Development through craft and trade: hence localised and limited in aims.

3. *Liberal Period.* Unions are legal but exist only among skilled workers and attitude is petit-bourgeois.

They try to make best bargains for themselves, while accepting the capitalist system.

4. *Reconstruction Period.* Growth in centralisation of Unions; rise of Labour representation in Parliament. Organisation of "unskilled"; Dockers' Union, 1887; other general workers' unions formed subsequently.

5. *Transition to revolutionary unionism.* Amalgamations, industrial unionism, R.I.L.U. Aim of revolutionary unionism, *Workers' Control of Industry under Workers' State.*

2. *Women's place in Class Struggle.*

Consequent upon the inferior status assigned to women during entire period of recorded history, large numbers have acquired a peculiar psychology, making necessary special propaganda for their benefit. Hence Communist Parties are required by the International to establish separate departments for propaganda among women.

The women's problem is a class problem and includes disabilities of an economic, political and social character.

Importance of support from women in times of crisis.

Immediate task of Party to win women's sympathy by its attitude on matters of special interest to women, as for example,

- (a) Rent and housing questions, etc.
- (b) Increased prices.
- (c) Opposition to militarism with special reference to its effects upon the spread of venereal disease and upon home life.
- (d) Equal pay for equal work.
- (e) Equal opportunities for women to participate in politics and general party work.

3. *Activities among Working Youth.*

Combating bourgeois influences among the children of the workers, e.g., through the State schools, boy

scouts, girl guides, church societies, pernicious literature. Active support of Y.C.L. in its

- (a) Industrial activities—the role of the young workers in industry, their cheapness, the importance of giving full support to the Y.C.L. economic demands.
- (b) Young Workers' Sports—The Campaign in support of the British Workers' Federation for Sports.
- (c) Communist Children's Sections. The aim to make the child a participant in the class struggle.
- (d) Anti-religious educational work.

4. Support of Soviet Russia.

Fortunes of Soviet Russia bound up with those of world revolution. Communists must strain every nerve to—

- (a) Prevent attacks on Soviet Russia by capitalist governments.
- (b) Expose falsehoods of capitalist press about Russia.
- (c) Use successes of Soviet Government to convince workers of other countries of the meaning and value of a proletarian government.

Questions.

Question 1.

Why did the Labour Unions take the form of trade or craft unions?

Question 2.

What was the most important factor leading up to the centralisation of the unions?

Question 3.

What is the fundamental difference in objects of revolutionary unionism compared with trade unionism pure and simple?

Question 4.

Give examples of how women can lend support during an industrial crisis.

Question 5.

Show how women's activity is bound up with our Party aims.

Question 6.

Give an example of how to approach the youth in one or other of the bodies mentioned.

Question 7.

Why are the capitalist Governments so anxious to attack Soviet Russia?

Question 8.

By what practical means can we resist attack on Russia?

Question 9.

Give example of how capitalist Press lies about Russia.

Question 10.

Cite one or two notable achievements of the Proletarian Government of Russia.

LESSON 8.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND COMMUNIST PRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

At a certain point in the breakdown of capitalist society, the old forms of industry and of government no longer correspond to economic realities. The capitalist class, no longer useful as the organisers of production, use these forms to resist by force or sabotage all changes in the interests of the working class. This is the experience of every country where a revolutionary situation has arisen. Then the working class must seize power, and use it (a) in order to shatter the resistance of the former ruling class, (b) to build up the forms of industry and government suited to a Communist social order. This transition period is one of State Socialism, and the force-organisations by which the workers wield power is the Socialist State. Distinguish this from the 'inevitability of gradualness' of the Labour Party, which hopes to bring about Socialism by a succession of small reforms *before* the power of the capitalist class is destroyed. Distinguish it also from the so-called Marxism which teaches that the revolution will come automatically from economic forces divorced from human activity and forgets that the revolutionary struggle of the workers is one link in the chain of economic determination.

LESSON.

I. Breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie, force must be met with force, and the power of the working class must be concentrated into the hands of a strong executive authority. Discipline is necessary: no single worker or sectional workers' organisation should decide things for itself, but must act as part of one body. Whatever disagreement exists about policy, orders once given by the executive must be obeyed unquestioningly. Inequalities in rank, power and remuneration among the workers tend to produce separate interests, antagonistic to the revolution as a whole, and they must be levelled out.

Counter-revolutionary elements must be deprived of all voting or administrative power. Where their work is indispensable, it must be supervised by trustworthy persons.

2. *Building up the Communist State Society.*

With abolition of barriers of private ownership, all industry can be managed with a programme of production planned out in advance to make what is most necessary and where it is made best. During the transition period all the means of running industry efficiently under capitalism—accurate costing and accounts, scientific management, by managers and foremen, payments by results—must be taken over like the rest of the machinery wherever necessary. If private industry is allowed to go on temporarily side by side with Socialised industry, the success of Communism depends on the superior efficiency of the latter.

Officials will be democratically chosen (only workers to have a voice), but their orders must be obeyed just as if they were officers in a battle. Trade Unions and workshop committees have important administrative functions, but they must all be subordinate to the needs of the whole working class.

3. *Character of Government during Transition Period.*

(a) All State power in hands of proletariat and working towards transference of entire means of production into hands of the workers.

(b) Elimination of the bourgeoisie, and of their franchise.

(c) Equality of workers irrespective of sex, creed and race.

(d) Universal, equal and compulsory education of all children.

(e) Control and direction by State organs of all economic activities on a general plan.

(f) Labour discipline.

4. *Communist Production and Distribution.*

Large scale production only possible by the Socialisation of the Labour process.

Contrasted characteristics of

Capitalist Production and Distribution.

1. Private ownership of the means of production.
2. For Profit.
3. Anarchy and inefficiency of production.

Communist Production and Distribution.

1. Common ownership of the means of production.
2. For use.
3. Regulated by social needs.

5. Communist Administration.

Communist administrators will not be judges, jurors, policemen, lawyers, hangmen, etc. The State (as organ of class rule—see Lesson 4) will cease to exist. Communist administrators will include the civil engineer, the electrical engineer, the statistician, the costing clerk, the book-keeper, etc. These as comrades and equals of all other workers will administer the policies determined by the community.

Questions.

Question 1.

Can the workers exercise State power through the existing institutions of Parliament, the Civil Service, the Law Courts, the Privy Council?

Question 2.

Is there any difference between Nationalisation of Industry and Communist Production?

Question 3.

Could a Workers' State, as soon as it came into being, introduce full-blown Communist Production?

Question 4.

How would the technical and administrative work of industry, requiring special knowledge possessed in the main by members of the bourgeoisie, be organised during the transition period by the Communist administrators?

Question 5.

Under Communist Production would every factory and workshop council have power to regulate all conditions of production within its factory or workshop?

LESSON 9.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

INTRODUCTION.

The workers have no special interest in state-patriotism, unlike the capitalist class, who make use of nationalism for imperialist expansion and monopoly. On the contrary, division, willingness to blackleg, and lack of solidarity between the workers of different countries, all hinder the success of the revolution.

As soon as the working class movement becomes class conscious it realises the need for international action.

Its first attempt to found an organisation was the First International, founded largely by the efforts of Karl Marx. It was composed of various bodies that were of working class composition, but widely different in their views, only a few being Marxian Socialists, others being Anarchists (led by Bakunin), or republican democratic revolutionaries of middle-class views (followers of Mazzini). The followers of Bakunin could not agree with those of Marx. The fall of the Paris Commune after the Franco-German war gave the last blow to this frail and immature organisation.

Eighteen years later a new attempt was made. This time the International was to consist only of Socialist parties. But the improvement in the material position of the workers, due to applied science and to imperialist expansion, brought with it a deadening of revolutionary feeling and the dry rot of reformism. The Socialist parties abandoned the practice, if not always the theory, of the class struggle, adopted the capitalist theories of democracy and constitutionalism, devoted themselves to obtaining such concessions as the capitalists would grant them, and began to believe in patriotism and the capitalist state. Hence, although the Second International flourished (in 1914 it had affiliated parties in nearly every country of the world), when the testing time came its leaders refused to oppose the governments of their different countries and preferred doping the workers and keeping up their patriotic spirits, to exposing the

capitalist nature of the war and directing the workers' and soldiers' discontent into the channel of revolution. Both Internationals were mere debating societies; even if a decision were taken there was no way of making it binding on any constituent national body.

The Third International began with the meeting together of Socialists who rejected the policy of class co-operation and win-the-war patriotism of the Second International, but the Russian Revolution gave the lead to all the genuinely revolutionary masses, and the Third International at once became the International of practical revolutionary Marxism, inspired by and putting into effect the lessons of the Russian Revolution. It organised the revolutionary working class as one world-wide Party with one General Staff and one centralised discipline.

Since the War, the remainder of the Second International and the Vienna or 2½ International (formed after the war, of Socialist parties that were anti-war, but would not accept the dictatorship of the proletariat and the discipline of the Third International) joined to form what is called the Labour and Socialist International, which is rather more reformist, nationalist and counter-revolutionary, than even the old Second.

LESSON.

1. *International Solidarity.*

Big business the world over has long recognised the absurdity of national and racial barriers between those whose general economic interests (as distinguished from particular rivalries for the possession of particular pieces of loot) are the same: *e.g.*, the great banking families and their international connections (Rothschilds, Rallis, etc.): the International Agreements of Iron and Steel firms, Stinnes (Germany), Comité des Forges (France), and British firms; the polyglot group in the U.S., which teaches the workers of America to be "100 per cent. Americans"; foreign bankers and the British Exchequer (Goschens, etc.). Willingness of German bourgeois to unite with French in Ruhr to suppress the German workers. The attacks on Soviet Russia after 1917 by the Allied bourgeoisie.

Nationalism is one of the devices whereby internationally organised capitalists divide forces of working class. Efforts of class-conscious workers to combat the capitalists effectively require internationals of the working class. (Just as the bourgeoisie has found a use for Nationalism, so the working class must learn to use it when necessary, *e.g.*, Policy of C.P. of Germany in relation to problem of Reparations.)

1. *The First International.*

Formed in London, 1864. Composed of various elements with different aims—Anarchists, disciples of Mazzini, Chartists, Socialists. Faded away after a troubled life of eight years. Main causes of the failure :

1. No central discipline.
2. Struggle between Marxism and Bakuninism.
i.e., Communism and Anarchism.
3. Lack of contact with day-to-day working class struggle.

2. *The Second International.*

Formed in 1889. A loose federation of opportunist Socialist parties. Again no centralised discipline. Hence inability to secure a unified fighting policy. International regarded not as the general staff of the world proletariat, but as a bureau for the exchange of ideas. Futility of this conception demonstrated by the collapse of the International in 1914. Main causes of failure :

- (1) No centralised discipline.
- (2) Bourgeois "democratic" action of national defence prevailed over international solidarity.
- (3) Belief in Parliamentary democracy, collaboration of the classes and policy of "gradualism" in social change.

3. *The Third International.*

Preceded by Conference of Socialists disgusted with traitors of Second International, Zimmerwald, 1915; Kienthal, 1915; Stockholm, 1917; then Russian Revolution, 1917. Twenty-one conditions of membership laid down at Second Congress, July-August, 1920.

Thus the International is a General Staff for international class struggle, guiding and directing the activities of Communists in every country in pursuance of a considered plan based on world requirements.

2. Work of the First Three Congresses of the Third International.

First Congress devoted to consideration of world situation and the governing principles of Communist activity.

Second Congress undertook a survey of the fundamental tasks of the International and affiliated parties and determined the conditions of membership.

Third Congress examined ways and means by which general principles can be applied to specific and immediate problems. Ratified tactic of United Front. Insisted upon permeation of Trade Unions as mass organisations of workers. Declared for active struggle as against progressive opportunism.

Illustrates by references to the *Theses* of the Second and Third Congresses.

3. Fourth Congress.

International definitely constituted a single Communist Party. Discussions on question of Programme. Examined and discussed implications of International Capitalist offensive. Declared war on Fascism.

(For important resolutions on Agrarian and Negro questions, Workers' International Relief, Women's movement, and tasks within Trade Unions, etc., see Congress Report.)

Questions.

Question 1.

Is the bourgeoisie organised internationally? Account for wars and struggles for markets and colonies on the one hand, and for international ports and trusts and for international banking connections on the other.

Question 2.

What is the relation of the Communist Party of a particular country to the International? In particular state whether the International is a federation of other-

wise independent and self-governing parties or whether the national parties are branches of a unified world-wide organisation.

Question 3.

Explain the connection between belief in parliamentarism and class collaboration and the collapse of the Second International in August, 1914.

Question 4.

Could the Third International have come into existence before the Russian Revolution?

Question 5.

Are the aims of the Communist Party ever served by appealing to Nationalist (Patriotic) sentiments?

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

LESSON 1.

Section 1. Organisation.

1. *What is the organised activity of a Party?*

- (a) A lead on policy from the centre.
- (b) Work distributed through the membership.

2. *How is the work shared out?*

By making everyone a member of a working group.

3. *What is the aim of organised activity?*

Organised *influence* in the working class, *i.e.*, the conscious directing, concerting and concentrating of all activities of all our groups with a view to building up a network of influence throughout the working class and its organisations.

1. *What is unorganised activity?*

Disconnected, sporadic and unco-ordinated work without specific Party aims.

2. *Why is it useless?*

Because it does not spread the influence of the Party as such and does not bring recruits.

How is organisation judged?

By results. (Give illustrations).

Give methods of propaganda.

- (a) *Press.* (Also the best organiser.)
- (b) *Meetings and Demonstrations.* (Best results are only obtainable through organisation.)
- (c) *Personal recruiting.* (Little use unless recruit is brought into an organised Party, where he can be given work to do).
- (d) *Participating in every day struggles of workers.* (Maximum results can only be obtained if done in conjunction with other bodies throughout the working class organisations.)

*Thus no organisation without propoganda.
No propoganda—no organisation.*

Finally, What does organisation imply?

Reports, instructions, discipline.

Section 2. Membership.

The Party Member owes to the Party a spontaneous loyalty which must equal the patriotism developed by the State—the obedience which it is able to force.

Instructions of the Party Executive must be treated as absolutely binding upon the individual member.

In relation to Party decisions with which he disagrees, the individual member must observe the “constitutionalism” which is advocated and (as far as possible) enforced by the State. If a strongly established institution finds constitutionalism necessary for its safety how much more does a struggling organisation of opposition need such consideration from its members? Communists must always remember that the constitutionalism which they repudiate is that which is the strength of their enemies.

Candidates should be made to feel that joining the Communist Party is a very serious undertaking, and that their admission to full membership depends upon an understanding and whole-hearted acceptance of Party discipline as outlined above.

Sympathisers can render much valuable help to the Party through their friendly contacts with members, but it is essential that a clear distinction exist in every member's mind between sympathisers and his fellow members who are bound by the same discipline as himself. The relations between Party members and sympathisers must be regulated by Party decisions, and matter intended for Party members *only* must not be communicated to any person outside the Party. Everywhere and always the utmost discretion must be exercised.

Registration. In this as in all other matters, the welfare of the organisation must have first consideration. State power is built up on the willingness of soldiers, policemen, etc., to take risks in the interests of their masters. The Communist Party is no place for people who reserve the right to pick and choose. If the

enemies of the Party find it worth while to collect particulars concerning its members, obviously the Party executive must be equally well-informed to the end that they may make the best possible use of the opportunities presented by the varying circumstances in which Party members find themselves.

Section 3. Party Structure and Discipline.

Party Structure.

Communist Party is the organisation of those who seek to replace existing State by a social organisation adapted to the needs of the workers. Therefore, in constant conflict with the existing State.

To function effectively under such conditions, it must have,

- (a) A central guiding and directing body invested with complete authority over the Party as a whole (corresponding to Central Government).
- (b) Local organisations to carry out instructions of the Centre (corresponding roughly to civil servants in provinces).
- (c) Local organisations to keep centre in touch with rank and file of Party and (subject to central approval) to indicate local policies required by local conditions (corresponding to County Councils).

Outline of work of District and Local Committees as given in Party Handbooks.

Aggregate meetings to arouse, and keep at high pitch, loyalty, enthusiasm and activity.

Democratic Centralisation.

Special feature of Communist organisations

- (a) To secure unhesitating loyalty of the members (corresponding to enforced loyalty to the State).
- (b) To ensure fullest use by the centre of all individual resources within the organisation.

LESSON 2.

Section 1. Organisation.

Party Discipline.

Communist Parties being sections of the Communist International which functions as the workers' general staff in the class war,

- (1) National Party interests must be subordinated to International.
- (2) Local interests must be subordinated to national.
- (3) Individual interests must be subordinated to Local.

Party loyalty is essential to effective work, whether international, national or local. This loyalty, is based on democratic centralisation which involves,

- (1) Fullest criticism and discussion within the Party ranks of all matters of Communist policy and tactics, whether local, national or international.
- (2) Ready welcome from all directing committees of suggestions for improvements in organisation and propaganda.
- (3) Prompt and cheerful fulfilling of Party instructions.
- (4) Suppression of any attempts by individuals or committees to substitute *bureaucratic centralisation* in their own interests for *democratic centralisation* in the interests of the Party and the International.

Section 2. Towards State Power.

Communist Parties must take the leading part in proletarian mass struggle. Must obtain as much influence as possible among smallholders and lower middle class in towns.

Activity in Trade Unions. The most important field of Communist work.

Communist leadership can only be won through—

- (a) Regular meetings and careful reporting by Communist nuclei and fractions.
- (b) Practical understanding and sympathy on the part of directing Party units.
- (c) Willingness of Communists to take their share of the hum-drum work in the Unions.
- (d) Fidelity of Communists in all union work undertaken however small.
- (e) Refusal by Communists to get involved in petty squabbles inside the Unions.
- (f) Ability of Communists to present correct tactics in simple language.

Section 3. The Task of the Party in the Trade Unions.

To unify and co-ordinate their activities and turn them into instruments of revolutionary struggle. To transform them into organisations for the enforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These ends are to be reached by nuclei and fractions working under intelligent direction of appropriate Party organs.

The Task of the Party in the Workshops.

The workshop is the real field of the class struggle and most fruitful field for propaganda. Preparation for assuming control in the workshop. Formation of shop committees, etc.

The role of the Co-operatives in the Working Class Struggle and the tasks of the Party in them.

Co-operatives in alliance with the Trade Unions have shown themselves useful instruments for facilitating struggle of the workers by supplying credits not otherwise attainable in times of strikes. In a crisis this is capable of development into the nucleus for the distributive machinery of a Workers' State. The task of the Party is by organised working to break down counter-revolutionary tendencies and work for the identification of the Co-operative with the revolutionary struggle.

LESSON 3.

Section 1. Political Nuclei and Fractions.

Political *Nuclei* are formed within—

- (a) Local Labour Parties (among individual members).
- (b) Tenants' Leagues, Unemployed Organisations, etc.

Political *Fractions* are formed in

- (a) Parliament.
- (b) Town, County, Urban and Rural Councils, Boards of Guardians, (Parish Councils in Scotland).
- (c) Trades Councils (where these function as Labour Parties).
- (d) Political Conferences.

Distinction between Nuclei and Fractions.

- (a) *Nuclei* are groups of Party members working inside other organisations, but responsible only to the Party.
- (b) *Fractions* are groups working within delegate or elective bodies, the members being responsible to their electors as well as to the Party.

Meetings of Fractions and Nuclei.

- (a) Both Fractions and Nuclei meet regularly.
- (b) They have agenda and minutes.
- (c) They report regularly through their leader to a leading Party Committee which is never lower than a District Department.
- (d) They receive and obey instructions.
- (e) They make suggestions and recommend policies.

Section 2. Organisation inside Unions and Workshops.

Nuclei and Fractions.

Formed in same method as political nuclei and fractions. (See Handbook "How a Trade Union Nucleus Works.")

Essential to give full support to Y.C.L. workshop nuclei. Interchange of representatives to secure closest co-operation and maximum results where Party and League nuclei exist in the same workshop, factory, etc.

Party Industrial Committees.

Sub-divided to supervise,

- (a) Workshop Committees.
- (b) Trade Union Work.
- (c) Co-operative activities.

Trade Union section sub-divided according to unions.

District Industrial Departments.

Establish and supervise local nuclei and fractions.

Study local industrial conditions and problems.

If possible, the best method of conducting this lesson will be to get a comrade actively engaged in industrial work to deal with this subject.

Section 3. Organisation of the International.

1. Statutes of the International.

Necessary to an International of Action for purpose of clearly defining,

- (a) Its Terms of Affiliation,
- (b) Mutual responsibilities of International and its affiliated organisations.

2. The Party and the International.

The Communist Party is not, like the parties of the Labour and Socialist Internationals, a self-determining entity, but it is really a section of a single international party.

This involves,

- (a) Conformity to general principles laid down by the Communist International.
- (b) Planning and direction of local work in the light of the world situation.

3. The Individual member and the International.

Duty of individual member to familiarise himself with Statutes and Theses for the purpose of helping to make Party an efficient organ of the International .

The International as a Final Court of Appeal.

Bibliography

LESSON 1.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism* (C.P., 3/- & 5/-).
Pp. 19-25.

For the meaning of Science and a scientific programme, see :—

Plebs, April, 1923. Article by Bucharin, p. 146.

Plebs, July, 1923. Article by Bucharin, p. 303.

Plebs, May, 1921, pp. 140-2.

Bogdanov, *Short Course of Economic Science*, first few pages.

M. P. Price, *Socialism as a Science*, (2d).

On the difference between the Fabians and the C.P., and the relation of the latter to the Labour Party, see :—

Labour Monthly. R. P. Arnot in July and December, 1922,
and in June and July, 1923.

Plebs, April, 1923, pp. 167-171.

LESSON 2.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*. Pp. 26-39, 45-46.

Bogdanov, *Short Course of Economic Science* (C.P., 3/-.)

Pp. 139-261, 295-331.

Plebs, *Outline of Economics* (*Plebs*, 2/6).

Pp. 12-39.

For historical development of Capitalism during last century,
see :—

Dobb, *Development of Capitalism*. (Labour Research
Department, 6d.).

J. A. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, (7/6),
Chs. 1 and 2.

M. Starr, *A Worker Looks at History*. (*Plebs*, 2/6.)

LESSON 3.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*.

Pp. 47-68, 93-137.

Bogdanov, *Short Course of Economic Science*.

Pp. 332-376.

Varga, *Process of Capitalist Decline*, (C.P., 1/-).

Also

Plebs, *Outline of Economics*, pp. 92-140.

Plebs, *Outline of Econ. Geography*. (*Plebs*, 2/6), pp. 65-127.

The Plebs, Feb. 1923, pp. 51-67.

For Trusts :—

J. Morgan Rees, *Trusts in British Industries*. (King, 10/6.)

Labour Research Department Studies in Labour and Capital.
(1/- each.)

Lesson 3 (Continued)

(In Germany).

- M. P. Price, *Germany in Transition*. (Labour Publishing Company, 5/-); pp. 65-85.
- For Imperialism :—
- Pavlovitch, *Foundations of Imperialist Policy*. (Labour Publishing Company, 2/6).
- L. S. Woolf, *Economic Imperialism*. (Swathmore Press, 2/6.)
- For post-war Imperialism :—
- The Plebs*, April 23, pp. 156-167.
- The Plebs*, June, 1923, Mark Starr.
- Labour Monthly*, M. L. Roy in issue for October, 1922.
- ” ” R. P. Dutt in issue for October, 1923.
- ” ” H. P. Rathbone in issue for Nov., 1922.
- Communist Review*, Vol. III., p. 422. Article by Dobb.
- On Economic Effects of War, see :—
- J. M. Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*. (Macmillan, 8/6.)
- M. P. Price, *Germany in Transition*, pp. 125-160, 180-197.
- Trotsky and Varga, *The International Situation*. (C.P., 3d.)

LESSON 4.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*. Pp. 39-45.

Further :—

- W. Paul, *The State*.
- Lenin, *The State and Revolution*. (C.P., 1/-).
- Labour Monthly*, June, 1924. Article by W. T. Colyer.
- The F.B.I.* (Labour Research Department, 1/-.)

LESSON 5.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*. Pp. 180-184.

Guilty and Proud of It. (Poplar, 2d.)

The Communist Party and the Labour Party (C.P. 2d.).

The C.P. the I.L.P. and the United Front (C.P., 1d.).

The results and dangers of the Reformist use of Parliament are told very well in the case of Australia in :—

- V. G. Childe, *How Labour Governs*. (Labour Publishing Company, 5/6), pp. 1-86.
- And in the case of Germany :—
- M. P. Price, *Germany in Transition*, pp. 18-62.
- For the I.W.W. attitude to Parliament in Australia, see :—
- V. G. Childe, *op. cit.*, 114-210.
- Also more generally :—
- Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism*. (C.P., 2/-.)

See further :—

- Labour Monthly*, Notes of the Month in issues of Dec., 1923, Jan., Feb., April and May, 1924.
- Also for Australia, V. G. Childe in May, 1924.
- For Local Government :—
- J. Seurr, *Local Government*. (Labour Research Department, 6d.)

LESSON 6.

Radek, *Devt. of Socialism from Science to Practice.*

Marx & Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, (3d.).

Postgate, *Revolution*, (Grant Richards, 18/-).

Chaps. III., V. and VI.

R. P. Arnot, *The Russian Revolution.*

(Labour Research Department, 6d.)

Also :—

Engels, *Utopian and Scientific Socialism.*

Lenin, *The Proletarian Dictatorship.*

Beer, *Marxism.* (Labour Research Department, 6d.)

For fuller histories :—

M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*, Vol. II. (Bell, 15/-;

Special Edition, 5/.)

M. P. Price, *My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution*
(Allen & Unwin, 18/-; also Special Edition, 6/-.)

Trotsky, *History of Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk* (2/6).

LESSON 7.

Report of Third Congress of Comintern,

“*The Role of the Trade Unions.*”

M. Starr, *Trade Unionism*, (Plebs, 6d.)

For fuller history, see :—

S. & B. Webb, *History of Trade Unionism.* (21/-.)

On Work of Women, see :—

Communist Review, C. Zetkin, p. 355; H. R. Holst, p. 298.

Communist Review, Vol. II., E. C. Wilkinson, p. 26.

For the Youth, see :—

Communist Review, Vol. II., A. Leontieff, p. 35.

For Religion, see :—

Bishop Brown, *Communism and Christianity.* (1/-.)

Communist Review, Vol. II., p. 228. Vol. III., p. 303.

LESSON 8.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*,

Pp. 69-91, 167-180, 184-191, 205-245, 258-292.

Bogdanov, *Short Course of Economic Science.*

Pp. 377-391.

For Industry under Communism, see :—

Labour Monthly, July, August, and November, 1923.

Articles by Trotsky.

Miliutin, *Economic Organisation of Soviet Russia.* (C.P. 1/-.)

The First Time in History. Anna Louisa Strong. (Labour
Publishing Co., 6/-.)

K. Wiedenfeld, *The Re-making of Russia.* (Labour Publish-
ing Company, 3/6.)

LESSON 9.

Bucharin, *A.B.C. of Communism*, Pp. 138-155.
Theses of Fourth Congress of Comintern.

For fuller history:—

R. W. Postgate, *The Workers' International*. (Swarthmore,
2/6.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For Lessons 10-12 on Organisation, the following will
be helpful—:

Communist Review, No. 4, p. 27; No. 6, p. 41.

Vol. II., V. Stern, p. 60.

Vol. III., B. Kun, p. 469.

Vol. III., K. Kreibich, p. 229.

Vol. V., C. M. Roebuck, p. 73.

Report of Party Commission.

For Trades Councils, see:—

Labour Monthly, March, 1922, T. Quelch.

” ” November, 1923, H. Pollitt.

” ” February, 1924, R. P. Dutt.

For Co-operatives:—

Labour Monthly, Aug., 1922, J. Jagger.

TO GET A
SOUND COMMUNIST TRAINING
you cannot do better than read
THE
COMMUNIST
REVIEW

*Authoritative
Articles : Best
Communist
:: Writers ::
Pressing
Problems of
:: To-Day ::*

EVERY MONTH : PRICE SIXPENCE

For terms to agents and subscription

rates write Business Manager

16 KING STREET

Covent Garden

London

WC

2

PRINTED BY
CENTROPRESS LTD.
(T.U.),
168, CAMBERWELL RD.,
LONDON, S.E.5

641727

UNIVERSITY OF B.C. LIBRARY



3 9424 01198 2417

